

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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O R 041252Z AUG 76
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
TO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 6960

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 8056

EXDIS

FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER FROM BYROADE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PK, PFOR
SUBJECT: YOUR VISIT TO PAKISTAN

1. I THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE USEFUL TO PASS ON TO YOU SOME OF MY PERSON THOUGHTS ON BHUTTO, HIS MOOD, AND ISSUES HE MIGHT RAISE DURING YOUR VISIT TO ISLAMABAD. I HOPE THIS WILL SUPPLEMENT THE EXCELLENT BRIEFINGS THAT I KNOW THE DESK HAS PREPARED FOR YOU.

2. YOU WILL BE MEETING A PRIME MINISTER WHO IS CONFIDENT, ASSURED AND SECURE IN HIS POSITION. I AM CERTAIN HE WILL TAKE GREAT PRIDE IN HIS RECENT STEPS TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH HIS NEIGHBORS ON THE SUBCONTINENT. I ALSO KNOW HE WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR COMPLIMENTING HIM ON WHAT HAVE BEEN NOT ONLY STATESMANLIKE BUT ALSO DIFFICULT DECISIONS FOR HIM TO MAKE. THE STEPS TOWARD NOMALIZATION WITH INDIA, HIS VISIT TO KABUL, DAOUD'S PROPOSED VISIT TO ISLAMABAD AND THE RESULTANT IMPROVEMENT IN PAK/AFGHAN RELATIONS, AND INCREASED COOPERATION WITH BANGLADESH ALL ILLUSTRATE BHUTTO'S DESIRE TO SEE A GENERAL IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS AMONG THE COUNTRIES OF THE SUBCONTINENT.

3. DOMESTICALLY, BHUTTO IS SUPREME. THERE ARE NO REAL THREATS TO HIS POWER AND AS NATIONAL ELECTIONS APPROACH

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(EXPECTED EITHER IN THE LATE FALL OR EARLY SPRING), BHUTTO

CAN BE ASSURED OF RECEIVING THE OVERWHELMING MADATE THAT HE DESIRES. HE IS A MAN WHO COMMANDS CONSIDERABLE RESPECT, THOUGH NOT LOVE, AMONG PAKISTANIS. THE OPPOSITION IS DIVIDED AND INEFFECTUAL IN THE POLITICAL ARENA AND TAME IN THE PARLIAMENT. BARRING THE UNPREDICTABLE, BHUTTO IS SECURELY IN THE SEAT OF POWER FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

4. PAKISTAN STILL FACES MAJOR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, HOWEVER, AND IN THE FUTURE THIS MAY WELL PROVE TO BE HIS ACHILLES HEEL. THE COUNTRY ONCE AGAIN FACES AT LEAST A \$1 BILLION TRADE GAP THIS COMING FISCAL YEAR. THIS SHORT-FALL IS EXPECTED TO BE MADE UP BY CONSORTIUM AID PLUS THE CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF FINANCIAL SUPPORT PAKISTAN IS GETTING FROM ITS OPEC MUSLIM BROTHERS, ESPECIALLY IRAN. IN A RECENT MOVE WHICH IS UNDOUBTEDLY POLITICALLY POPULAR, BUT CONTAINS THE SEEDS OF POSSIBLE REAL ECONOMIC DIFFICULTY, THE PRIME MINISTER NATIONALIZED 2,200 RICE MILLING, COTTON GINNING, AND FLOUR PROCESSING MILLS THEREBY ELIMINATING THE PRIVATE SECTOR FROM THREE VERY IMPORTANT SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY. ALTHOUGH WELL RECEIVED BY THE FARMER AND CONSUMER, THE GOVERNMENT HAS ASSUMED A HEAVY BURDEN BY THIS MOVE IN TERMS OF MANAGEMENT AND FINANCING THE RURAL SECTOR. IT SHOWS ONCE AGAIN, HOWEVER, BHUTTO'S PENCHANT FOR MAKING THE RIGHT POLITICAL DECISION EVEN THOUGH THE LONG TERM ECONOMIC RESULTS MAY BE DETRIMENT TO PAKISTAN.

5. BHUTTO WILL BE MEETING YOU STILL VERY WELL DISPOSED TOWARDS TH US. HE SEES A COMITY OF INTEREST BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND A SHARING OF TRADITIONAL VALUES THAT HE CONSIDERS IMPORTANT. HE IS OF COURSE VERY PROUD OF THE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP THAT HE BELIEVES HE HAS WITH PRESIDENT FORD AND YOURSELF. I SHOULD POINT OUT, HOWEVER, THAT SOME OF THE CONCERNS HE HAS VOICED TO YOU IN THE PAST ABOUT THE DIRECTION OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY ARE STILL VERY MUCH ON HIS MIND. HE STILL HAS DOUBTS ABOUT WHAT HE SEES AS THE INREASING CONGRESSIONAL ROLE IN THE FORMULATION OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AND THE RESULTING CONSTRAINTS ON THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH. IF ANYTHING, OUR UPCOMING ELECTIONS HAVE HEIGHTENED THIS CONCERN. HE WILL OBVIOUSLY BE VERY INTERESTED IN ANY COMMENTS YOU WILL HAVE ON THE
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PROSPECTS FOR CONTINUITY IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY GENERALLY AND SPECIFICALLY THE FUTURE OF US/PAK RELATIONS AFTER NOVEMBER. ANY CONVERSATION YOU MIGHT HAVE ON THIS TOPIC WILL OBVIOUSLY COLOR WHATEVER DECISIONS HE WILL HAVE TO MAKE ON HIS FUTURE RELATIONS WITH US. HE FEELS THAT HE HAS HAD AN UNDERSTANDING AND SYMPATHETIC AUDIENCE IN THE WHITE HOUSE AND IN THE SECRETARY OF STATE WHO EXHIBIT CONCERN FOR PAKISTAN'S NEEDS. I AM CERTAIN HOWEVER HE WONDERS WHETHER PAKISTAN CAN BE

ASSURED OF THE SAME INTEREST AND ATTENTION IF A NEW
ADMINISTRATION COMES TO POWER IN JANUARY.

6. I KNOW THERE ARE A NUMBER OF SPECIFIC ISSUES THAT BHUTTO
MAY WELL WANT TO DISCUSS WITH YOU. HE WILL PROBABLY PASS
ON THE RESULTS OF HIS RECENT DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SHAH AND
WITH DAOUD AND WOULD BE HAPPY TO GIVE YOU HIS THOUGHTS ON
THE PRC AFTER HIS RECENT TRIP TO PEKING TO MEET THE NEW
LEADERSHIP. HE WILL ALSO MENTION PAK/INDIAN RELATIONS AND
MAY WELL WANT TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT HIS TRIP TO NORTH
KOREA AND ANY POSSIBLE ROLE FOR PAKISTAN IN LESSENING
TENSIONS ON THE PENINSULA. HE MAY ALSO CHOOSE TO ASK
ABOUT YOUR VIEWS ON HIS PROPOSED IRAN-TURKEY-PAKISTAN
SECURITY PACT, WHICH WAS STILLBORN AT THE RCD SUMMIT IN
IZMIR SEVERAL MONTHS AGO. FINALLY, HE WILL LIKE TO EXCHANGE
VIEWS ON THE MIDDLE EAST.

7. I ALSO WANTED YOU TO BE AWARE THAT THERE HAS BEEN SOME
EROSION IN PAKISTAN'S POSITION AS A MODERATING FORCE IN THE
THIRD WORLD ON ECONOMIC ISSUES. AS YOU KNOW, THE PRIME
MINISTER HAS RECENTLY CALLED FOR A THIRD WORLD SUMMIT OF
LEADERS OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD TO DEVISE A COMMON STRATEGY ON
ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. PAKISTAN'S CRITICISM OF THE DEVELOPED
NATIONS HAS ALSO BECOME MORE STRIDENT IN INTERNATIONAL
FORA. I SEE SEVERAL REASONS FOR THIS. THE HARDLINERS IN THE
MFA HERE BELIEVE THAT THE POSSIBILITIES FOR A VIABLE NORTH-
SOUTH DIALOGUE WHICH WILL MEET THE LEGITIMATE NEEDS OF THE
DEVELOPING WORLD ARE REMOTE. THEY FEEL THAT YOUR SPEECH
TO THE SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION HELD OUT GREAT HOPES AND
POSSIBILITIES FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND
DEVELOPING WORLD BUT THAT THE WEST HAS NOT BEEN FORTHCOMING
ON MEETING THOSE PROMISES. ALSO WE ARE IN AN ELECTION YEAR
IN PAKISTAN AND BHUTTO LIKES TO CONTINUELY A RNISH HIS

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IMAGE WITH HIS PEOPLE AS A RESPECTED AND ADMIRERED THIRD
WORLD LEADER. THE PAKISTANIS ARE OBVIOUSLY PIQUED BY
THEIR EXCLUSION FROM THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT AND BHUTTO'S
EMPHASIS ON HIS THIRD WORLD SUMMIT IS UNDOUBTEDLY DUE IN
PART TO DETRACT ATTENTION FROM THE UPCOMING NAC IN COLOMBO.
I AM SOMEWHAT CONCERNED, HOWEVER, THAT WHATEVER BHUTTO'S
REASONS AND HOWEVER SENSIBLE THEY MAY BE POLITICALLY, THAT
THE MODERATE ROLE PAKISTAN HAS PLAYED IN THE THIRD WORLD
COULD WELL BE DIMINISHED.

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W

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O R 041252Z AUG 76 ZFF-4

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN IMMEDIATE

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 6961

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 8056

EXDIS

FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER FROM BYROADE

8. THE TWO ISSUES UPPERMOST IN BHUTTO'S MIND WHEN HE SURVEYS THE CURRENT STATUS OF PAK/US RELATIONS ARE MILITARY SALES AND HIS CONCERN OVER CONFRONTATION WITH US ON THE REPROCESSING ISSUE. I HAVE COVERED THE LATTER TOPIC IN A SEPARATE MESSAGE TO YOU (ISLAMABAD 7858). ON THE MILITARY FRONT, OUR SALES RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PAK MILITARY HERE LOCALLY SEEMS TO BE PROCEEDING SMOOTHLY AND A LOGJAM ON A NUMBER OF OUTSTANDING LOA'S WAS RECENTLY CLEARED THROUGH OUR EXECUTIVE BRANCH. HIGHER CIVILIAN LEVELS, INCLUDING BHUTTO, HOWEVER, HAVE A NATURAL IMPATIENCE OVER WHAT APPEAR TO THEM TO BE BUREACRATIC DELAYS IN ACTUALLY RECEIVING EQUIPMENT FROM THE USA, AND FEEL THAT DOD'S LEAD TIMES ON DELIVERIES FOR PAKISTAN ARE TOO LONG. WHETHER OR NOT WE WILL AGREE TO SELL THEM THE A-7, OF COURSE, REMAINS THE BIG QUESTION.

9. THERE IS ONE FINAL ISSUE WHICH MAY BE INCLUDED IN YOUR BRIEFING BOOK TO BE RAISED WITH BHUTTO TO WHICH I WOULD LIKE TO GIVE MY PERSONAL SECOND. I AM CONCERNED IN THE LONG RUN OVER PAKISTAN'S POSITION ON NARCOTICS. ALTHOUGH BHUTTO FACES REAL DOMESTIC POLITICAL PROBLEMS - ESPECIALLY WITH NATIONAL ELECTIONS COMING UP - IN TRYING TO STOP NARCOTICS PRODUCTION, PAKISTAN CAN AND SHOULD DO MORE IN THIS AREA. MY OBVIOUS FEAR IS THAT ONE DAY PAKISTAN OPIUM OR DERIVATIVES WILL FIND THEIR WAY TO THE STATES WITH, AMONG OTHER CONSEQUENCES, THE RESULTANT HIGHLY
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NEGATIVE IMPACT ON US/PAK RELATIONS. THE GOP HAS THE CAPACITY TO DO MORE AND THROUGH BOTH DEA AND AID WE HAVE OFFERED AND MADE ASSISTANCE AVAILABLE. HOWEVER, ACTION ON THE PAK SIDE HAS BEEN VERY SLOW. IF YOU WERE ABLE TO BRIEFLY MENTION TO THE PRIME MINISTER OUR CONCERN IN THIS AREA, NOTING YOU KNOW IT IS A SENSITIVE ISSUE BUT WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT ITS POSSIBLE LONG TERM EFFECT ON OUR RELATIONS, I THINK IT WOULD HAVE A CONSIDERABLE BENEFIT.

10. NEEDLESS TO SAY, BHUTTO IS VERY PLEASED THAT YOU ARE COMING AND IS LOOKING FORWARD TO MEETING WITH YOU. HE ENJOYS EXPOUNDING PHILOSOPHICALLY ON WORLD MATTERS, AND APPRECIATES THE FACT THAT PAKISTAN IS INCLUDED IN YOUR ITINERARY. HE ALSO LOOKS FORWARD TO THE MEETINGS WITH YOU NOT ONLY AS AN IMPORTANT DIPLOMATIC AND POLICAL EVENT IN PAKISTAN, BUT ALSO WITH GREAT PERSONAL PLEASURE.
BYROADE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, MINISTERIAL VISITS, BRIEFING MATERIALS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 04 AUG 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ElyME
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976ISLAMA08056
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760301-0417
From: ISLAMABAD
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760885/aaaacxap.tel
Line Count: 241
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ElyME
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 21 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <21 MAY 2004 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <17 SEP 2004 by ElyME>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: YOUR VISIT TO PAKISTAN
TAGS: PFOR, PK, (KISSINGER, HENRY A), (BHUTTO, ALI)
To: TEHRAN
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006